Surára, Pakidái

/20 cont./

41 [171] Métraux (83).

83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

[283] [824] 2. Rahaká -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantaná (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

[237] [283] [314] 3. Kantarím -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

41 14 [171] According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84). Meyer mentions that it is

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá [184] /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanoámi group, they have furthermore

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88),

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

304 small pieces of reed 1-2 centimeters long, from which hang, on
301 one or two short chains of beads, small triangular pieces of silver leaf, shiny silver coins, or particularly large glass beads. Women also have a special preference for these objects. The teeth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which the men use as a knife (see p.115, are a typical feminine ear ornament.
• [314] To prevent them from slipping out of the perforation, a small lump of tree resin is stuck on the back end. The perforations of the ear lobes are also adorned now and then with blossoms.

In the perforations of the lower lip and the corners of the mouth on either side the women now and again have delicate little reed rods -- tunhabaácre -- 15-17 and 12-15 centimeters
[184] long, respectively. Among the Xiriána women married to Surára and Pakidái men I observed that they wear, in addition, two little reed rods 30-35 centimeters long in the pierced nasal septum -- huxibéka -- (Ill. 16). This piercing I was told, is reserved for only the female members of this large, mighty tribe.
[184] This also explains why the perforations of the Puseheweterí and Aramamesterí women correspond perfectly to those of their Surára and Pakidái "sisters," that is to say, there is no piercing of the nasal septum. The same applies for Nikeromá, the little captive from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí.

301 All the ornamental objects named are made by the male
422 and female wearers themselves and are regarded as personal property.

304 Due to Koch-Grünberg's research among the Xiriána
301 (Schirianá), Waiká (Waíka), and various Karaiben /Carib/ tribes,
184 abundant comparative and supplementary material is available
[171] to me. Thus, the great investigator writes with regard to the
[127] Xiriána (Schirianá): "Nasal septum, /41/ ear lobes, and lower lip were pierced among the men and in many cases adorned with little reed rods almost as long as a hand. On special occasions they also wear a jaguar tooth in the lower lip.

"The women had long reed rods in the pierced ear-lobes, the lower lip, and the corners of the mouth. Three narrow strips of reed, spread out fan-shaped at both ends, adorned the nasal septum (Ill. 12)" (213).

213. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

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Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[723] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

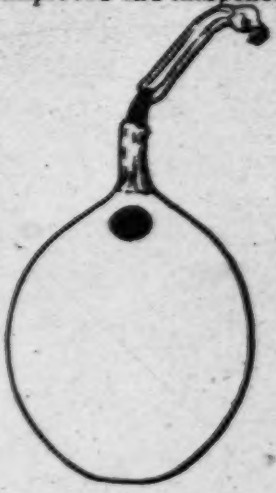

Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Yara-Yara. These strips are a few centimetres wide, their ends being twisted into a rope and tied to two trees. Less common is the hammock made from the rootstock of an iriartea, the palm which tends to cling slyly to the traveller with its thorns, lurking on the young shoots. The rootstock often lies above ground, twice the length of a man's arm and almost as thick. It is carefully stripped of its spines, which come off easily, and then clubbed to a pulp. In this way the very strong fibres are easily removed. They spread open very readily, and the Samatari are careful not to pulp the ends, leaving seven or eight inches of the rootstock intact so that it can be hung on to any convenient spur on a tree.

Finally there is the hammock de luxe, the one the snobs carry with them because it takes a certain amount of time to make and its more select raw material cannot be found everywhere. This is a superlatively strong liana known in Spanish as *alambrito*, or wire, because of its strength and its habit of growth. Quite apart from its use for hammocks among the Shirians, this liana is one of the main forest products, being used for all sorts of purposes by all the inhabitants, from the most civilized to the most primitive. It serves for binding the walls of huts, for weaving and basketwork and, as we have said, for hammocks of a superior quality.

This liana is about as thick as a pencil and easy to peel and slip open into a number of pliable white strands rounded on one side and flat on the other. About a hundred of these strands, banded together halfway between the two ends with twisted bark rope, make the hammock. It is strong and springy, but alas, like all Shirian hammocks, unstable, uncomfortable, and very small. Stretched out in them, with the imprint cutting deeply into their skin, the Samatari pass their nights without stirring, their feet on a higher level than their heads as if they were following the most modern therapeutic principles, smoking themselves in the piquant fumes of their fire, which is kept continually burning and replenished by the more youthful members of the tribe. The fire is their blanket—'the blanket of the night'—as they themselves call it.

V

At some point during the night, Solituan turned up wearing my trousers. After they had made their mysterious rounds, it seemed, they had fallen to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

278 layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

415 411 [824] [438] [239] Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

372 [824] The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

412 [237] The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

[314] [284]

226 The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

244 [177] [292] [999] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians-and by rural Venezuelans-and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and [284] a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome [531] piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in [437] the trading network.